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EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN THE CITIES, THE REPORT OF THE HARTFORD CONFERENCE (CONNECTICUT, MARCH 2-3, 1967).

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PRESENTED IN THIS CONFERENCE REPORT ARE HIGHLIGHTS FROM POSITION PAPERS, SPEECHES, AND DISCUSSION GROUPS. COMPLETE INTEGRATION RATHER THAN MERE DESEGREGATION, AND QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL WERE THE MAJOR EMPHASES OF THE CONFERENCE. POSITION PAPERS INCLUDED (1) A REPORT ON HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT'S PROJECT CONCERN, IN WHICH INNER-CITY STUDENTS ARE PLACED IN SUBURBAN SCHOOLS, (2) SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, AND GREENBURGH, NEW YORK, AND (3) A DISCUSSION OF EDUCATIONAL PARKS. THE APPENDIXES CONTAIN EXCERPTS FROM THE PRESS COVERAGE OF THE CONFERENCE, A PAPER ON THE EXPERIMENTAL ASPECTS OF PROJECT CONCERN, AND A LIST OF SELECTED READINGS ABOUT EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY. THIS DOCUMENT IS ALSO AVAILABLE FROM THE HARTFORD PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 249 HIGH STREET, HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT 06103. (LB)

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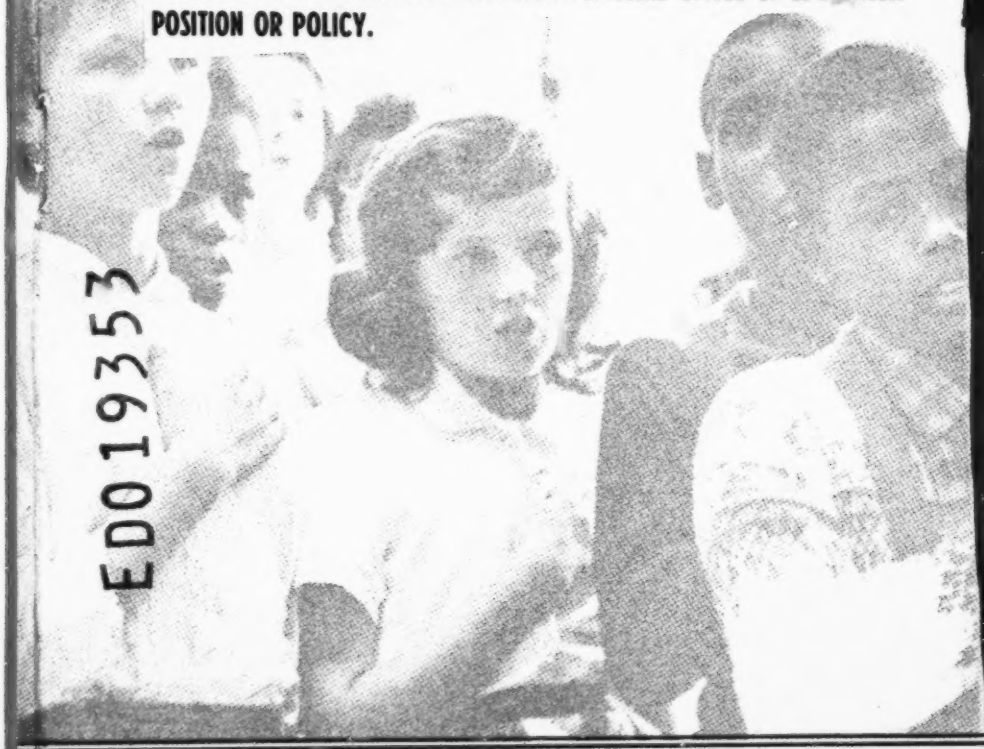

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# Equal Educational Opportunities In the Cities

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★ ★ ★ The Report of *The Hartford Conference* ★ ★ ★

The Invitational Conference on Equal Educational Opportunities in the Cities was held at the Hotel America on Constitution Plaza, Hartford, Connecticut, on March 2-3, 1967. Additional copies of this report are available upon request to

**THE HARTFORD PUBLIC SCHOOLS**
**249 High Street**
**Hartford, Connecticut 06103**

# An invitation to work . . .

. . . that, in essence, is what we said to some 100 urban educators across the nation when we asked them to Hartford to consider the complex problems of racial imbalance in the schools. We even assigned homework—five position papers written by five authorities who've all been involved in front-line efforts to provide equal educational opportunities for every child, regardless of race or social class.

Our fellow conferees, speakers, and discussion leaders did their homework. And they did much more. For two solid days of meetings, these university people, community leaders, officials from Washington and state education departments, and city schoolmen explored in depth and with uncommon candor our common problems. They shared generously their knowledge of what's being done to cope with our problems. And they dreamed a little of what should be done to create quality educational programs worthy of the child of the city.

I am happy to present this summary of our considerations. Consider it as a "work paper." Much work remains to be done.

*Medill Bair*

Superintendent of Schools
Hartford, Connecticut

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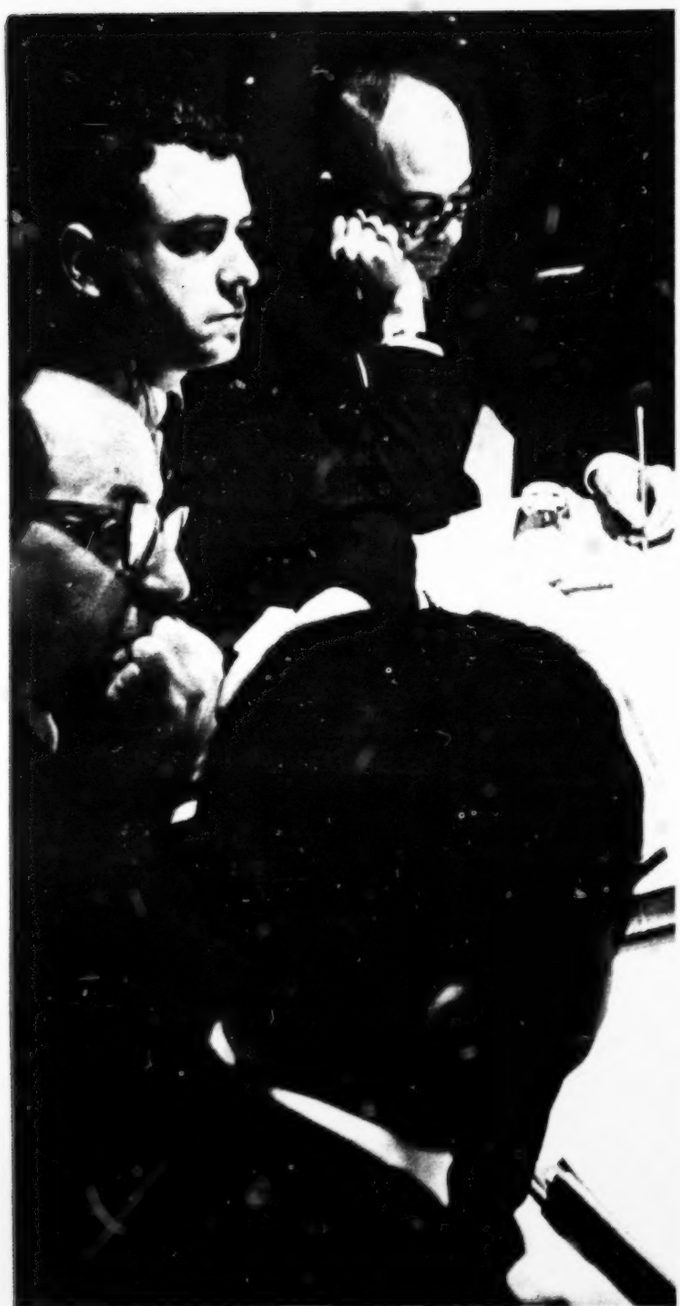

► Participants at Hartford Conference ponder the difficult problems of racial imbalance in city schools.

# 1. The Position Papers

A commentary on education and the Negro community . . . a case study of urban-suburban cooperation . . . an account of a city in the process of becoming integrated . . . a report of a community that's achieved this goal . . . and the promise of the educational park: These are the subjects of the five position papers prepared in advance of the Hartford Conference. Highlights of these papers are summarized in the section that begins on the next page.

► Dr. Thomas W. Mahan Jr., Director of Project Concern, and Dr. Robert L. Green, Associate Professor of Educational Psychology, Michigan State University.

► Hartford Deputy Superintendent of Schools Robert M. Kelly (right) and Dean Abraham Fischler, Nova University.

# EDUCATION AND THE NEGRO COMMUNITY

## By Robert L. Green

THE RECENT COLEMAN REPORT [see appendix] concluded that the great majority of American children attend racially segregated schools and that Negro children receive the most segregated education.

For years, Americans assumed that educational segregation was a peculiarly Southern problem. But protest marches in Chicago, Boston, and New York—led by Negroes and whites—indicate that segregation is a very real issue in the North too.

White parents have felt, at times, that Negro parents merely wanted their children to sit next to a white child. Some of them have viewed the push for desegregation as the work of subversive elements in the Negro community.

Knowledgeable whites, however, realize that school integration relates to the Negro's concern for quality education at all levels. Negro parents have long been aware that segregated education meant inferior education for Negro children. Similarly, white youngsters in segregated schools also receive a narrow education.

The separate education of Negro children has been decidedly unequal. Yet the trend in the last ten years, as more and more whites flee the central city for suburbs, has been toward *more segregated schooling*. Negroes are left on a kind of reservation which the white community prevents them from leaving. This is the dilemma.

Can Negro children make the same progress as white children in racially imbalanced schools? Studies have shown that in segregated school communities Negro children lag behind white children on most indices of educational growth. Negro teachers typically have classes so large that effective teaching is impossible. (In one Southern community a Negro teacher had a third grade of 84 youngsters.) In both the North and the South Negro children receive inadequate educational equipment. New teachers, often uncertified, are placed in Negro schools. For years, Negro and

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• **DR. GREEN** is associate professor of educational psychology at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan. He is also consultant on school desegregation cases to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

white teachers have viewed an assignment to a Negro school as an academic affliction.

What is most significant, though, is the fact that segregated situations are the work of white school boards and administrators not committed to quality education for nonwhites. As a result, Negro youngsters have not received equal educational opportunity.

In contrast, white parents have been able to bring pressure on school board and administrators for higher quality schools. Threats to withhold support on school bond measures or in the election of public officials are powerful levers for white parents.

School districts, north and south, continue to renege on commitments to integrated education. This will ensure a segregated education for most American children for years to come.

This attitude prompts the question: What are the alternatives to forced school integration?

- Negro parents and leaders should organize into "power blocs" seeking a strong voice in the operation of Negro schools. Hopefully, this involvement will move school personnel toward both desegregation and quality education for Negroes. Negro parents cannot afford to wait until white America decides to integrate its schools.

- School districts should develop programs proceeding in a meaningful manner towards desegregation. Some cities have arranged busing programs with suburban areas to achieve racial balance and eliminate crowded conditions in ghetto schools. Little Rock has started fully integrated summer programs. These are steps in the right direction. But school communities must also envision educational parks and plazas as a means of combating racial imbalance.

- There should also be a concerted effort to involve Negro teachers and administrators in educational programs. School personnel should be assigned on the basis of individual merit, the educational need of schools, and a commitment to full integration of the school system at all levels. This will foster a better self-concept among Negroes and allow Caucasian teachers and students to see through traditional minority stereotypes.

Many white parents and school personnel fear that integration will lead to educational deterioration. As a result of living in segregated communities, some Negro children do at first have

difficulty in an integrated school. However, Berkeley's recent desegregation efforts indicated—true to the Coleman report—that both Negro and white students achieved more when placed in desegregated situations.

The finding that Negro youngsters perform poorly on achievement or aptitude tests but perform better in the classroom should not be surprising. Many of our tests measure the effects of a disadvantaged environment. In a recent study (Green and Farquhar, 1965), no correlation was found between high school grades and performance on a verbal aptitude test for male Negro students. However, a motivational test was a strong predictor of academic achievement for these same students.

## Opposition to Busing

Northern parents have opposed busing by arguing that youngsters should attend classes with the friends they play with in the neighborhood. This question, however, has a geographical bearing. Busing is opposed in many Northern communities, but is typically supported in the South. This unusual paradox reflects a difference in strategy, not of attitude. In the North, the so-called neighborhood school concept reflects uniracial housing patterns. Many Southern communities, on the other hand, have integrated neighborhoods. Consequently the neighborhood school concept is ignored. Thus, if parents can be convinced that their children are receiving good education, busing is not an issue.

An unfortunate aspect of busing has been that the Negro child must undertake a frequently long ride that takes him to an unfamiliar, cool, or even hostile environment. In this regard, why not bus white children to "Negro schools"? Are we to assume that all the educational positives are in "white schools"? In the future, we may see Negro parents demanding that busing extend beyond sending only Negro children to predominately white schools.

As far as the continued racial imbalance in Southern communities is concerned, the recent report of the Southern Regional Council (1966) acknowledges resistance to change and the consequent slow pace toward desegregation. Southern legislators exerted pressure on selected Title IV officials, the Commissioner of Education, and the President of the United States to halt school desegregation attempts in the fall of 1966.

In Grenada, Mississippi, and Camden, Alabama, they have enrolled Negro children in previously white schools. But in Grenada, fewer than 30 Negro youngsters remain in these schools out of more than 250 who desegregated them in September, 1966. Beatings, clubbings, and classroom harassment took their toll. In Camden, nine Negro children have received the same harsh treatment.

Camden has instituted a new form of segregation. In one particular school, teachers have forced Negro children to sit on one side of the room.

This brutal and unfair treatment stems from bigoted school officials opposed to desegregation. Perhaps in the future, only large numbers of Negro children should be integrated into such hostile situations. In this manner, a handful of youngsters could not be singled out for mistreatment.

• • • •

IN CONCLUSION, this paper asserts that only complete school integration can lead to equality of educational opportunity for both Negro and white youngsters. Segregation is unequal. Parents and educators, Negro and white, must organize and demand quality education in poor communities. At the same time the poor must be given a voice in the operation of schools. However, never must we lost sight of the ultimate goal, which is complete integration.

## PROJECT CONCERN

### By Thomas W. Mahan Jr.

PROJECT CONCERN IS AN EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENT. It recognizes the inescapable conclusion that youngsters from lower socio-economic backgrounds living in disadvantaged areas of the inner city fail to respond to the typical school environment in terms of desired academic achievement. This failure of response becomes increasingly dramatic as the youngster moves along in school and creates what Deutsch has called the phenomenon of "cumulative deficit." Although this pattern is reasonably consistent and predictable for all disadvantaged groups, it is clearly more pronounced and devastating in the minority group cultures of the Negro and Puerto Rican. This creates an educational problem which has profound implications for society as a whole.

The apparent remedy for this situation is to change the nature of the inner city school which serves the disadvantaged areas. Compensatory programs of this sort have been tried in different circumstances and in a number of forms. The results, although ambiguous, have failed to clarify any universally appli-

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► Dr. Mahan, an educational psychologist, is director of the Greater Regional School Desegregation Experiment (Project Concern), Hartford, Connecticut.

cable program or technique which can be expected to prevent or correct the educational deficit so plainly evident among disadvantaged youth. This conclusion seems inescapable—in spite of the heroic efforts and considerable expense involved in many of the projects. The question which must be faced is whether the inner city school provides the environment in which dramatic change in educational performance can be expected.

This, then, is the matrix from which Project Concern emerges. The stark reality of the educational deficit repeatedly found in disadvantaged youth creates an uncomfortable situation for educators. Yet the easy answer of genetic inferiority will not stand. Out of the drab picture arise those dramatic cases which illustrate the potential for change. At the same time, the research evidence underlines the fact that intra-group differences are far more striking than inter-group differences while the support for the concept of the "educability" of intelligence continues to grow.

Project Concern is designed to demonstrate that the disadvantaged child's low achievement is a result of the interaction of the neighborhood and the neighborhood school. The schools find themselves focusing on repressive measures for behavioral control rather than on the stimulation of growth. Both the school and the neighborhood accept a standard of limited expectation. Project Concern holds that the observed disability is not intrinsic to individual or culture. Rather, it results from an environmental interaction which is reinforced by stereotypes cultivated by both the disadvantaged population and the majority.

If we are to test this assumption adequately it seems necessary to place students in an educational environment (1) which is focused on stimulation rather than control and (2) which is not bound by limited expectations.

Project Concern is providing this different educational environment. It is providing it by placing inner city disadvantaged youth in suburban schools where the emphasis is on discovery and learning and where expectations are high.

## Project Objectives

Project Concern is exploring the effectiveness of suburban school placement as a stimulant for educational growth of the inner city child and as a demonstration of the economic, political, and educational feasibility of such a plan of educational intervention. In detail the objectives are as follows:

1. To assess the range of possible academic growth for typical disadvantaged youth within an inner city.

2. To determine the relative effectiveness of four different educational interventions as models for programs for disadvantaged inner city youth.

3. To gather and analyze pertinent data.

4. To demonstrate the fiscal and operational feasibility of urban-suburban collaboration in such a program.

5. To train professional and nonprofessional staff in the education to inner city youth.

6. To attempt to isolate the pupil, family, school, and teacher characteristics associated with significant changes.

7. To provide relevant data for subsequent urban-suburban collaborative efforts.

8. To disseminate information about the findings of the Project.

In terms of numbers alone, Project Concern is a token effort. However, in terms of implications, it takes on monumental significance. The items below attempt to convey this aspect.

✔ Project Concern youth have been randomly selected (with parental approval) from the total population of disadvantaged K-5 inner city youth attending Hartford schools. (Only 4% of the original sample declined to participate.)

✔ Project Concern youth have the characteristics associated with inner city poverty situations—families are on welfare; low achievement; low profiles; low mental ability scores.

✔ Project Concern will permit an evaluation of the relative effectiveness of four different interventions:

a) placement in a suburban school.
b) placement in a suburban school with remedial-supportive assistance provided by the Project.
c) placement in an inner city school.
d) placement in an inner city school with comprehensive and intensive compensatory services.

✔ Project Concern has been developed in a fashion to permit replication elsewhere without extraordinary expense.

✔ Project Concern is collecting data designed to answer the following suggestions:

a) Is there significant change in measured mental ability?

b) Is there significant change in measured academic performance in reading; arithmetic; listening; and creativity?

c) Is there an adverse effect upon the suburban class into which youngsters are introduced?

d) What is the social status of the experimental students both in the suburbs and in the inner city neighborhood?

e) Are there signs of change in variables such as trust, sense of self-responsibility, and motivation?

## The Project in Action

Project Concern is presently busing 255 city youngsters (224 Negro, 24 Puerto Rican, seven white) to five suburbs: Farmington (66 children), Manchester (62 children), Simsbury (25 children), South Windsor (24 children), and West Hartford (78 children). These children are scattered into 123 classes in 33 schools which correspond to the class they would have attended had they continued in Hartford schools.

The 255 bused pupils are divided into two groups:

a) 213 are scattered throughout the five towns in 27 schools. They receive supportive services from a team consisting of a professional teacher (most of whom are Negro) and a nonprofessional aide (a mother from Hartford's Negro North End neighborhood). A team is provided for every 25 students. These teams provide three major functions: (1) remedial assistance; (2) school-home liaison; and (3) positive adult identification figures.

b) 42 pupils, all in six West Hartford schools, who do *not* receive supportive services from an external team.

Each suburb in the Project has assigned to a member of its administrative staff the functions of coordinator with the Project central office. This provides a clearinghouse for communication and increases the ease of operation tremendously.

The central office staff includes a director, assistant director, coordinator of aides, two community workers, and an executive and a secretarial assistant. The central office is responsible for coordination and supervision; research; public relations; community services; supportive service to child, family, and school; and planning and evaluation.

In addition we are served by two committees. One is a broadly based *Advisory Council* made up of representatives from par-

ticipating school boards, State Department of Education, Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Negro community. This Council advises the Director on general operational problems and serves as a forum for discussion of new developments. The second, the *Professional Advisory Committee,* includes the director and three university scholars. This group advises on professional questions relating to the research design, data collection, and data analysis areas. Final decisions on such topics are made by this group.

The collection of data focuses around a number of major criterion variables and also around a syndrome of inferred intervening variables. The prime emphasis is on the criterion variables which relate to school performance. For this aspect a sub-contract with the University of Connecticut has been let and plans call for four testings: October, 1966 (already completed); May, 1967; October, 1967; and May, 1968. These criterion variables and the data sources are listed below:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1) Mental ability | — Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children; test of primary mental abilities; draw-a-man |
| 2) Academic achievement | — reading; arithmetic; listening; creativity-flexibility |
| 3) Sociometric status | — sociometric questionnaires; teacher ratings. |

In addition careful analysis is being given to other dimensions, several of which are best described as intervening variables. Among these are:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1) Pupil attitude | — teacher logs; Sarason anxiety scales; interviews |
| 2) Pupil motivation | — attendance; homework performance; teacher reports |
| 3) Family participation | — teacher and central office logs |
| 4) Classroom climate | — teacher logs; observation; motion picture study. |

A further area of study is the reaction and performance of the suburban youngsters.

## Present Progress and Future Prospects

There are as yet no data available other than the basic results from the pretesting to evaluate progress along the major criterion variables. There are, however, other areas where some data are available. For example:

1) Attendance — average daily attendance exceeds 90%.

2) Drop-outs — From September 7-30, nine youngsters were removed from the program. (Two moved from Hartford, two were removed for emotional problems, and five were withdrawn at parental request.) From September 30 to January 19 two additional youngsters were withdrawn at their own request because of extreme academic difficulties.

3) Parental involvement — over 90% of the families have participated in at least one school activity in the suburbs.

4) Pupil acceptance — all signs indicate that the city children have been well accepted. Perhaps the most striking sign of this is their participation in after-school activities.

5) There are no signs of the predicted "psychological trauma" or of the "physical strain" from the experience.

Central to the Project Concern study is its thesis that it is a practical model for large scale intervention in those cities which are fringed by suburbs. The following facts underline the operational and financial feasibility of large scale expansion:

1) There are 16 communities within the present radius of operation.

2) These 16 communities in the current academic year (1966-67) have 1,962 classrooms, K-6.

3) Legislation has been introduced into the 1967 Connecticut General Assembly (HB 3912) which, if enacted, would:
   a) establish the legality of inter-community compacts for education of the disadvantaged;
   b) establish standards for such programs;
   c) provide partial financial assistance for pupil costs, transportation costs, and school building costs.

4) Operating costs for full-scale implementation can be realistically estimated at $300 to $350 per pupil above the tuition cost.* ■

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* See page 43 for Dr. Mahan's description of the theoretical rationale and research design of Project Concern.

# *THE BERKELEY STORY*

## By Thomas Wogaman

WHEN BERKELEY'S SUPERINTENDENT, Dr. Neil V. Sullivan, assumed office in September, 1964, he found this challenging situation:

- The recently adopted and bitterly controversial junior high desegregation program was to be inaugurated.
- Virtually every high-ranking official in the outgoing administration had left or taken another position within the school district.
- Of the five-member Board of Education which had unanimously selected him superintendent, only two remained.
- Within five weeks, on October 6, 1964, the two remaining members were to face a recall election for having voted to desegregate the junior high schools.

Berkeley is a city of about 120,000 people and is located on the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay. The city is more than the home of the University of California. It is also an important industrial center. The population is cosmopolitan, with substantial numbers of Negroes and Orientals. The Negro population has been growing steadily since World War II.

Berkeley was a residentially segregated city and had a tradition of neighborhood schools. This resulted in de facto school segregation. Four elementary schools in south and west Berkeley were overwhelmingly Negro. The other seven elementary schools were predominately Caucasian. This segregation was also prevalent at the junior high level. Berkeley's one regular high school, drawing students from all over Berkeley, was desegregated. Three schools in the middle of town were integrated with the three main racial groups.

Berkeley's crisis developed in the late 1950's and early 1960's. At the same time there was a dramatic rise in the influence of liberals. During those years citizen committees studied the schools' racial make-up, the city hired more minority teachers, and the Intergroup Education Project helped teachers to understand children from various ethnic backgrounds.

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► **DR. WOGAMAN** is administrative assistant to the superintendent of the Berkeley Unified School District. He is an expert on educational parks and other means of desegregation.

In November, 1963, a 36-member citizens committee (the Hadsell Committee) presented a report that shocked the community. It recommended junior high desegregation by redrawing the boundaries between the schools and instituting open enrollment.

## Intense Debate

The report set off intense community debate and public hearings. Out of this dialogue came the Ramsey Plan, a proposal presented by an English teacher at Burbank Junior High School.

The Ramsey Plan called for Burbank Junior High School, an erstwhile Negro school, to become an exclusively 9th grade school serving every 9th grader in the city. Willard and Garfield schools would become two-year junior high schools for the 7th and 8th grades, with their boundary drawn to ensure their desegregation. The plan caught on, replacing that of the Hadsell Committee.

On May 19, 1964, the Board of Education met to consider the Ramsey Plan. In an ensuing hearing that followed, the Parents Association for Neighborhood Schools warned that if the plan were adopted, the board would face a recall election.

The board adopted the plan. The drive for recall began. After a summer of petition-passing and legal skirmishing before the courts and city council, the recall election was set for October.

In the midst of this struggle Dr. Sullivan arrived to inaugurate a new administration. Dr. Sullivan and his central staff were committed to the goal of district integration.

School opened under the new program without incident. There had been no court orders, no boycotts, no violence, no lawsuits. The board members had voted for desegregation *because it was educationally sound and morally right.* It was not for the community to stand with or against the board's decision.

The recall election on October 6, 1964, resulted in a smashing victory for the board members. Two courageous board members retained their seats, and the Ramsey plan was given a long range chance for success. The election was also a symbolic victory for integration.

To reunite a badly divided community, Dr. Sullivan immediately called for the formation of a broadly based committee of about one-third staff members and two-thirds lay citizens to make further studies. The report is expected in the fall of 1967.

The first step toward integrating elementary schools in Berkeley came with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Four southwest elementary schools were termed the "target area."

After considerable community discussion, Berkeley developed a program to take at least a token step toward desegregation.

The major thrust was in hiring additional faculty to reduce teacher-pupil ratios. The reductions in class size created a need for places for 230 boys and girls enrolled in the target schools. They were transferred to predominantly Caucasian schools in northern and eastern Berkeley. A sweeping compensatory program was set up for the target area schools.

The principals and teachers of the sending and receiving schools cooperated closely in selecting students for busing. Boys and girls with emotional problems were not included. No child was sent whose parents did not agree. Some children in the receiving schools wrote letters of welcome to their new classmates.

The new plan went into effect for the spring semester of 1966 and proceeded even more smoothly than the Ramsey Plan had a year and a half earlier. Although it is still too early to make sweeping judgments, indications are that the program has been well received by the students and parents involved.

Substantial progress has been made toward desegregation in the Berkeley schools over the past few years. The secondary schools are now desegregated, thanks to the Ramsey Plan. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act has resulted in token desegregation at the elementary level. In spite of this progress there are still several problems.

The ESEA "receiver schools" are only desegregated to a token degree, and the West Berkeley elementary schools remain as segregated as ever, although their programs have been improved through ESEA and district funds. Furthermore, there is a need to shift emphasis from "desegregation" to "integration".

Berkeley is moving on these problems. We are studying tracking and ability grouping. We've started experiments in heterogenous grouping in certain areas. And Berkeley has received a Title III ESEA grant for an extensive study of educational parks.

## Factors for Success

Berkeley's experience was characterized by the discrediting of several threats:

- **Threat** *The members of the Board of Education would be removed from office if they took positive action.* Yet board members won a victory in the recall election.
- **Threat** *Berkeley's teachers would leave in droves.* This did not happen. In fact, the rate of staff turnover decreased.

- **Threat** *Voters would not approve a badly needed $1.50 increase in the tax rate.* The voters did approve the tax proposal in a tax election held in June, 1966.

- **Threat** *School desegregation would result in a mass exodus of whites from Berkeley.* This did not happen. A census of students in the fall of 1966 revealed that there had been an *increase* in white enrollment over the preceding year.

Berkeley's success can be attributed to the following factors: 1) The willingness of the citizens of Berkeley to face challenging issues; 2) the efforts by the administration in bringing school problems out into the open; 3) the broad involvement of many able citizens; 4) the strong leadership of the school administration; and 5) the courage of the Board of Education to take action in the face of intense community pressures.

The outlook for the future is one of cautious optimism. The Board of Education and the administration seem to have the support of the vast majority of Berkeley citizens. Even though many problems remain, Berkeley represents, in the words of one educator, "a city that is trying." ■

# INTEGRATION IN GREENBURGH DISTRICT No. 8

## By George E. Fitch

GREENBURGH SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 8 is one of 11 school districts in Greenburgh township. The township is a residential area of about five square miles located about 25 miles north of Times Square. It has slum areas and also homes in the $35,000 to $45,000 bracket. The population is predominately Negro and white with a few families of Oriental extraction. A number of other nationalities are represented. The religion is Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic, divided roughly into thirds. The educational level varies from illiteracy to people with advanced degrees. Occupations and incomes also cover a wide range. A high percentage of the people commute to New York City each day.

Before World War II, Greenburgh was mostly rural. The construction of dams and roads attracted Negroes and workers of

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► **Dr. Fitch** is supervising principal of Greenburgh School District No. 8 in Westchester County, New York.

Italian descent to the center of the district. These groups later found work on neighboring farms and estates.

The entire school population was housed in one old building. In 1929, a secondary school was opened. In 1938, an elementary school and an addition to the high school were completed. In 1946, secondary enrollments were so low that upper grades were discontinued and the children sent to White Plains for their education.

## Flight to the Suburbs

Then the suburban migration began. Most of the new residents were young couples, many with young children. The trend of decreasing enrollment was reversed. Until this time there were two elementary school attendance areas dividing the district roughly into northern and southern halves. Most home construction took place in the southern area, where the school became crowded and 90% white. The school for the northern area, mostly Negro, became under-populated.

The educational program came under the scrutiny of Negro and white district leaders. Local committees charted the future of the school district. The Board of Education, with full community support, adopted a grade level organization for the schools effective in 1951. One school was designated for all K-3 classes; another, for all 4-6 grades. A third school was allocated for junior high school classes. In this way, the board ended de facto segregation on the elementary level, provided for the more efficient use of facilities, and set the stage for achievement of true integration.

The years from 1951 to 1957 consolidated gains. Schools were completely detached from Town Hall political influence; the school board members were committed to quality education; upgrading programs for teachers were instituted; and board and citizen committees made long range plans.

My appointment as supervising principal began in 1957 immediately following the defeat of a bond issue for a new elementary school. The summer and fall were spent bringing leaders of factions together to work out compromises. A new bond proposal passed by a 5 to 1 margin. A second bond issue for a junior high school also passed easily.

With facilities problems solved, attention could be focused on the educational program. Negro and white parents were dissatisfied with their children's education. Negro parents complained of discrimination. But investigation revealed the problem to be not so much discrimination as the fact that Negro children were

not profiting from school. White parents also questioned the quality of district education.

This led to an analysis of testing results in 1959. Median I.Q. was 105, but median battery scores on all grade levels were at or below national norms. Children with good intelligence scored below grade level, and only a few got top scores. In addition, officials concluded that low scores by Negroes depressed the overall results.

A proposal was made to identify underachievers and place them in separate sections with teachers qualified for this kind of assignment. Since these students were mostly Negro, the question of segregation came up. Nevertheless, the board tried the new approach, but it proved unsuccessful. It failed because of poor preparation and the very enormousness of the task.

The school board had to reconcile two major policies: achieving integration while at the same time making the school programs broad enough to meet the needs of every child.

The board then decided to employ the New York State University Field Services to make a study of the district. This group issued a report identifying district shortcomings and proposing long range objectives.

Concurrent with the field study, the district received a special grant from the state to develop a five-year program for culturally deprived children to begin in kindergarten and extend through grade three. Emphasis was placed on identifying deprived children, studying their learning difficulties, visiting parents, and extending teacher understanding through case conferences. As a result, educational offerings were modified for all children, not just for those culturally deprived.

## The Picture Today

School opened in September 1966, with an enrollment of 1,725 in grades K-6 and 2,975 children in grades 7-12. The staff consisted of 68 teachers in grades K-6 as well as 16 teachers of special subjects. There were 90 teachers in the high school and a full quota of professional guidance counselors, psychologists, nurses, etc. There was one professional staff member for each 15 pupils. Classes averaged under 25 students.

At present, classes are held in five centers.

- Kindergarten classes are located in an old mansion, which also houses the administration offices.
- Grades one and two occupy the new Juniper Hill School.

• All of grade three and part of grade four are assigned to a school that was once predominately Negro.

• The remainder of the fourth grade and all of grades five and six are assigned to a school originally the junior high.

• Grades seven through twelve attend a new comprehensive high school.

The locations of the schools, together with the desire to implement the grade level plan, mean that 90% of the children must be transported to school.

The budget is $3,876,865, or $1,305 per pupil. A total of 62.8% of the budget is for instruction. Approximately two-thirds of the income comes from property taxes, which typically run in the $800-$1200 range for homes. Residents approve these taxes each year.

Community interest in school matters dates back to the late 1940's. Each civic association has an education committee, and many send regular observers to school board meetings. A Parent-Teacher Association and an independent Citizens Committee for Education are also active.

The superintendent's cabinet, consisting of all principals and central administrators, is primarily concerned with district direction. The chief school officer's advisory council meets monthly and considers school policy as it directly relates to pupils. A steering committee concerns itself with curriculum and overall staff involvement. The Teacher Association allows staff participation in school problems.

## What Has Been Done

Great strides have been made in academic achievement. Median class scores are one-half to one year above national norms. A total of 75% of the white children score on or above grade level, and 50% of the Negro children are scoring slightly below, on, or above grade level. And the full effect of the new programs is yet to be felt.

Some of the district's specific accomplishments are as follows:

1. Support of integration by the vast majority of residents.

2. Success in obtaining and retaining a highly qualified staff (one out of five staff members is Negro, and 65% of the teachers hold Masters degrees or better.)

3. Success in obtaining financial support.

4. Success in communication with the entire community.

5. Utilization of all available disciplines in solving learning problems.

6. Development of a close working relationship among board, administration, and staff.

7. Gains in academic achievement of both white and Negro children.

8. Development of a complete K-12 school system.

9. Development of self-criticism and a desire to improve.

10. Success in changing the image of the school from one of inferiority to one of quality and respect. ■

# EDUCATIONAL PARKS

## An Interview with Max Wolff

*The educational revolution now underway in the major cities of the country is stimulating a search for new ideas in curriculum, school organization, and architectural design. The new concept of the educational park is gaining national attention because of its promise of high-quality education at reasonable cost for all the children in a community. New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Syracuse, Rochester, and a host of smaller towns already have educational park plans on their drawing boards or are actively exploring what such parks can do for them. The following interview with Dr. Max Wolff, the community consultant who first proposed and developed the concept, was presented as one of the Position Papers at the Hartford Conference.*

**How would you define an educational park?**

Basically, it is a clustering of educational facilities in a campus-like setting. But a mere cluster of school buildings on one site is *not* automatically an educational park. Centrally-organized common facilities serving the schools on the campus is the added essential ingredient of the educational park.

Necessarily, the park draws its student body from a community larger than the local neighborhood and so represents a constellation of the community's citizens.

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► **Dr. Wolff,** formerly associate professor of educational sociology at New York University, is currently Director of Research, Migration Division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and Senior Research Sociologist at the Center for Urban Education in New York City.

**What do you mean by "centrally-organized common facilities?"**

At present, each neighborhood school must have its own auditorium, gym, library, science room, art and music rooms, and shops if it is to be even moderately well equipped. Each such facility is necessarily modest and is in use only a small fraction of the school week—unless it is used to relieve overcrowding and not for its original purpose at all. Staffing these facilities with subject specialists and librarians is always a financial problem even if people are available. Few school systems provide more than part-time visiting specialists.

In the educational park, classroom buildings will be small and intimate, keeping the children together in familiar groups. But gyms, auditoriums, science facilities, and the like will be shared by children from many classroom buildings. Because a building with classrooms only is drastically less expensive to build than one with large open-space rooms like gyms, construction savings can be used to provide the modern, imaginative central buildings to serve all the children in the park. The science building, for example, can have both small laboratory rooms and large demonstration theaters. The auditorium building can have a huge theater equipped for professional performances to serve both the pupils and adults. The same building can have small rehearsal rooms, music instruction rooms, and intimate little theaters.

Imagine a health center for such a park. Contrast it with the present nurse's room off in a corner of the neighborhood school with a nurse in attendance on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons only. What happens to the child who has the bad judgment to get ill on Monday when the nurse is serving at another school? The park's health center should have not only an infirmary for emergencies, but also extensive preventive medical facilities and programs. Doctors, nurses, psychiatrists, social workers, and guidance people can all be housed here. The local boards of health are often eager to cooperate in running such centers.

Central facilities of all types can be used for children during the day and for the entire community after school hours. Organizing such optimum use of facilities is child's play for the computer—and is educational child's work for students who can be trained in computer operation by actually programing the park's daily operations.

**Where will school systems get the teachers to staff these specialized facilities?**

We need specialized, highly skilled teachers. We must also train young teachers. The park provides the opportunity to do both. Master teachers will be in charge of the various specialized

programs, supervising and training young teachers. Teaching itself becomes an important learning experience for new teachers.

In addition, the qualified specialist—given the best equipment and working a full day without long interruptions for travel from neighborhood to neighborhood—can benefit a maximum number of children.

A combination of excellence in teaching and quality of facilities invites the testing of innovations, challenging the teacher to delve more deeply into his field as well as into teaching methods. The specialist today uses his creative imagination just to figure out ways of making do with the frustratingly inadequate facilities in the various schools he must cover. In many cases, it's a daily battle to stay stagnant.

**What led you to this concept of the educational park?**

As a sociologist specializing in community problems, I directed a number of studies dealing with the changing urbia and suburbia. Great movements of people into the cities is a world-wide phenomenon closely related to the acceleration of industrial development. In highly industrialized countries, this process is far advanced. Cities spill over into ever-spreading metropolitan areas covering hundreds of miles. New problems and tensions accompany these changes. The out-of-city migration of people not hindered by discrimination or socio-economic standing is followed by the migration of commerce and industry. The others who are forced to stay in the inner-city are the tax-poor.

The urban crisis is a compound of dwindling revenues and increased need for social services in the old centers and of uncontrolled, unbalanced growth in the new. Intergroup tension rises as the ghetto of the poor is confronted by the ghetto of the rich, the ghetto of the blacks by that of the whites. The schools reflect all these problems in both the old and new population centers.

Wherever I studied local school problems, the central issues that concerned the citizenry were how to modernize education within the community's narrow financial limitations and how to achieve racial balance that would relieve intergroup tensions and provide more equality of educational opportunity.

I observed the vitalizing impact of modern shopping centers and industrial parks on the communities and tried to visualize how the school system could become part of this vigorous new growth.

The time for more patches on the old fabric is over. The school is the center of learning; that's its main task. By itself, it cannot solve city problems outside the area of education. How-

ever, as a participant in the community's many democratic processes, it can affect, in key ways, other spheres of city life.

The educational park can provide a frame within which a community can approach solutions to the critical problems of stabilizing population changes, of nonparticipation by citizens in community life, and of intergroup tension. It can and should become the cultural center of the community, creating a new focus of communal identification, a rallying-point that counters the forces breaking the community apart. It will tend to stabilize a changing community, particularly in the old centers where fear of declining standards of public education causes flight of those who can afford to move. It can provide the opportunity to promote sound intergroup relationships by bringing together children and families from various racial, religious, and socio-economic clusters.

**You have given a partial answer to my next question. Why do you prefer the educational park serving pupils from a broad community to schools in the neighborhood?**

Remember that the neighborhood school is a relatively new urban development. When free, compulsory public education was being promoted actively by its proponents before the turn of the century, the key purpose of the common school, as it was called, was to provide equally for the poor and the rich so that all could share equally in America's growth. "The law contemplates not only that all shall be taught, but that all shall be taught together," argued Charles Sumner in 1849 in describing the common school. "They are not only to receive equal quantities of knowledge, but all are to receive it in the same way. All are to approach the same common fountain together; nor can there be any exclusive source for individual or class."

The neighborhood school concept arose in response to the widespread migration of Negroes to the North after World War I. The South never zoned by neighborhoods until compelled to by the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

While the educational park reintroduces the common school concept, there are other important reasons why neighborhood school construction fails to meet our cities' needs.

First of all, quality. Centralized facilities make possible a new level of educational excellence beyond the reach of the neighborhood school.

A second important consideration is economy. Nearly every city has some obsolete schools which must be replaced or modernized. To bring all neighborhood schools up to date so that

they may render educational services of the highest quality requires more money than any city can possible afford. Centralized schooling removes existing inequalities among schools and permits continual upgrading of equipment at minimal cost. The actual number of schools needed is reduced. Because of changing residential fashions, some of today's city schools become over-utilized; others, under-utilized. Overcrowding calls for building more schools. Neighborhood school construction means relocating people with all the attendant upheaval and community controversy, especially in densely populated areas. Often, the newly built school finds itself under-utilized in a few years as the population matures and housing fashion changes. The educational park is more impervious to these intra-city population movements. Total city growth can be accommodated by building the educational park on a site and from a plan designed for growth. New schools can be erected within the park as needed without disturbing community life.

Another consideration is status. With few exceptions, the status of the school reflects the status of its neighborhood. "Good" or "bad" neighborhoods are defined by the resident population's socio-economic standing and race. Teachers tend to prefer a high-status school because it affects their own status. Thus, as teachers seek positions in higher-status schools, the lower-status schools lose out. The educational park has its own unique status as a great educational institution. It relieves both teachers and parents of the search for the "best" school.

I also prefer community to neighborhood construction of schools because the former permits integration and the latter tends to prevent it. A neighborhood school is, in a sense, a "ghetto" school in that it serves a neighborhood with a specific ethnic, racial, or socio-economic character. Segregated education overlooks the reality of the world, of our country, and even of the specific community. And children are ill-equipped to understand the reality of American life when they can see each other only dimly from over the walls of their ghettos. The educational park is an inclusive frame for public education of the highest quality available equally to all children.

**Won't it be extremely wasteful of existing school plants to change from the system of neighborhood schools to one of educational parks? Will it not take many years before such parks can be built, postponing the solution of pressing immediate problems?**

To answer your second question first, a status-quo minded school board can use this as a pretext for inaction. But delays in instituting necessary, immediate improvements can be controlled by a watchful citizenry.

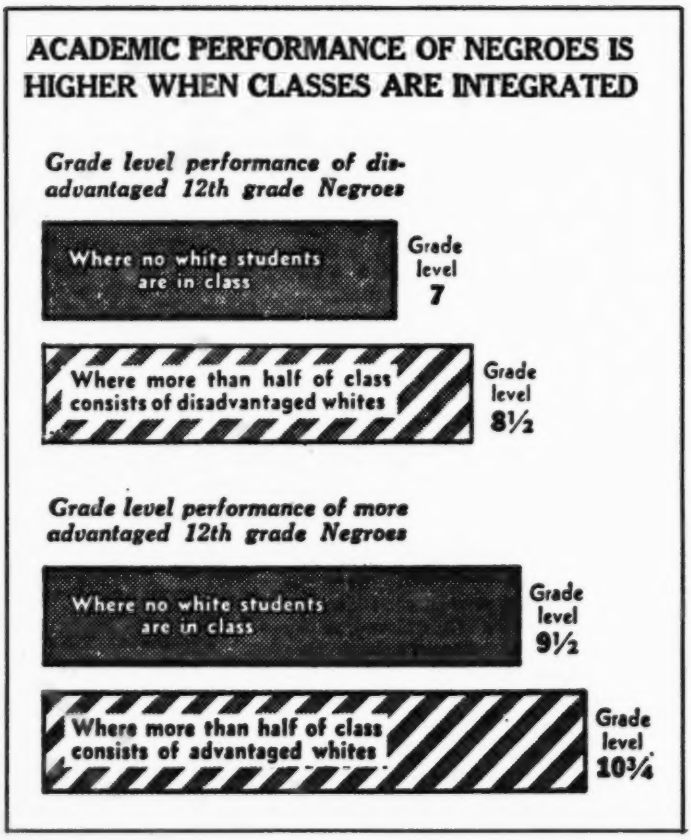
*Continued on page 28.*

# Table: The Extent of De Facto Segregation In Elementary Schools of Northern Cities

| City | Percentage of Negroes in 90 to 100 percent Negro schools | Percentage of Negroes in majority-Negro schools | Percentage of whites in 90 to 100 percent white schools |
|---|---|---|---|
| Los Angeles, Calif. | 39.5 | 87.5 | 94.7 |
| San Diego, Calif. | 13.9 | 73.3 | 88.7 |
| San Francisco, Calif. | 21.1 | 72.3 | 65.1 |
| Denver, Colo. | 29.4 | 75.2 | 95.5 |
| Hartford, Conn. | 9.4 | 73.8 | 66.2 |
| New Haven, Conn. | 36.8 | 73.4 | 47.1 |
| Wilmington, Del. | 49.7 | 92.5 | 27.3 |
| Chicago, Ill. | 89.2 | 96.9 | 88.8 |
| Gary, Ind. | 89.9 | 94.8 | 75.9 |
| Indianapolis, Ind. | 70.5 | 84.2 | 80.7 |
| Baltimore, Md. | 84.2 | 92.3 | 67.0 |
| Boston, Mass. | 35.4 | 79.5 | 76.5 |
| Springfield, Mass. | 15.4 | 71.9 | 82.8 |
| Detroit, Mich. | 72.3 | 91.5 | 65.0 |
| Flint, Mich. | 67.9 | 85.9 | 80.0 |
| Minneapolis, Minn. | None | 39.2 | 84.9 |
| Kansas City, Mo. | 69.1 | 85.5 | 65.2 |
| St. Louis, Mo. | 90.9 | 93.7 | 66.0 |
| Omaha, Nebr. | 47.7 | 81.1 | 89.0 |
| Newark, N.J. | 51.3 | 90.3 | 37.1 |
| Albany, N.Y. | None | 74.0 | 66.5 |
| Buffalo, N.Y. | 77.0 | 88.7 | 81.1 |
| New York City, N.Y. | 20.7 | 55.5 | 56.8 |
| Cincinnati, Ohio | 49.4 | 88.0 | 63.3 |
| Cleveland, Ohio | 82.3 | 94.6 | 80.2 |
| Columbus, Ohio | 34.3 | 80.8 | 77.0 |
| Oklahoma City, Okla. | 90.5 | 96.8 | 96.1 |
| Portland, Oreg. | 46.5 | 59.2 | 92.0 |
| Philadelphia, Pa. | 72.0 | 90.2 | 57.7 |
| Pittsburgh, Pa. | 49.5 | 82.8 | 62.3 |
| Providence, R.I. | 14.6 | 55.5 | 63.3 |
| Seattle, Wash. | 9.9 | 60.4 | 89.8 |
| Milwaukee, Wis. | 72.4 | 86.8 | 86.3 |
| Washington, D.C. | 90.4 | 99.3 | 34.3 |

► **Note:** Percentages shown here are for the 1965-66 school year except for Seattle (1964-65), Los Angeles (1963-64), and Cleveland (1962-63). This listing is from a longer one which appears in *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*, Vol. 1, A Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967. U.S. Government Printing Office. Page 4.

► **Credits.** Photo by Arthur J. Warmsley for *The Hartford Courant*. Bar graph from the *New York Times*, February 2, 1967, based on a study in the metropolitan northeast by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.


ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE OF NEGROES IS HIGHER WHEN CLASSES ARE INTEGRATED
Grade level performance of disadvantaged 12th grade Negroes
Where no white students are in class
Grade level 7
Where more than half of class consists of disadvantaged whites
Grade level 8½
Grade level performance of more advantaged 12th grade Negroes
Where no white students are in class
Grade level 9½
Where more than half of class consists of advantaged whites
Grade level 10¾

*Continued from page 25.*

However, immediate changes should be consistent with the long-range project of building educational parks. They should not preclude later park construction.

The key to how to do this includes:

- the early development of a city-wide *skeleton plan* to define in general the areas where parks should be built,
- a *timetable* for construction,
- and the *order of progression* of school grades to be served.

For example, a community may plan to start its park at the fifth grade so as to include all 5-12 children and to continue building, bringing up additional grades below fifth as new facilities are built. Until the park is actually under construction, one or more of the existing elementary schools might be reorganized into a middle school serving several neighborhoods to achieve racial balance or greater specialization. Then, when the park facility is ready, the children in the new middle school enter as a group. No loss of time in solving immediate problems results, and the transition is facilitated.

Since one of the major objectives of the park is to create the bridge that will bring together children from diverse backgrounds, planners must seek sites central to the communities to be served, with no inequality in travel time for any of the groups in the park. The selection of a site just because it happens to be cleared and city-owned can result in disaster. It's perfectly possible to misuse the advanced concept of the educational park to solidify school segregation patterns. By building parks on sites that preclude future steps toward desegregation we may isolate whole areas that will be permanently excluded from park development. This is especially true of big cities. A community-wide or city-wide skeleton plan takes *all* schools into consideration in order to provide the same high-quality education for every child.

Further, all new schools should be built in park-designated areas. Thus, the park gradually gets built as school construction money becomes available according to the long-range plan.

Many existing schools can be immediately used to form the core of the educational park—in instances, for example, where there are good plants already clustered or in near vicinity to each other. All that may need to be done is to change the grades served by these schools or to convert some of the large common rooms to classrooms. As the park grows—in much the same way as a college grows—the local schools that are superseded can be converted to other uses (Medicare centers, for example) or sold to

private investors. Older schools are often on high-value, downtown sites and command good selling prices.

**Can any city afford to build parks with its limited budget? Won't the educational park add to transit problems? How can we guarantee the safety of pupils who have to do so much traveling?**

Federal funds are available not only to study educational park possibilities but also for actual construction. Federal urban renewal funds can also be obtained for school construction. Integration of educational park plans into the city's urban renewal program is often possible and desirable. The logical areas for educational parks and for urban renewal are often the same, particularly in smaller cities.

If a city plans to build an educational park, it often need use only the same funds it would ordinarily use for the old type of construction. It can make these funds go much farther by building classroom buildings and applying to the federal government for help in constructing centrally shared facilities that will serve the classroom buildings. Duplication of high-cost rooms (gyms, auditoriums, etc.) can be eliminated. Many more children can be provided for by the local community using the same funds allocated for neighborhood school construction. Remember, the educational park requires less overall building. As a pupil's family moves from neighborhood to neighborhood, he still attends the same educational park.

The transit problem is complicated, but not insoluble. Many pupils attending the educational park will live within walking distance. Senior high and middle school pupils have to travel longer now and will continue to do so. The younger children and their parents may need transportation, and special provision for this must be planned.

Some years ago, despite protests that "it cannot be done," some streets in the heart of our cities were designated as play streets, closed to traffic for certain hours a day. It works. We may find it desirable to make certain streets "school streets" and close them off to general traffic for a brief period each morning and afternoon to use as school transportation arteries for children, teachers, and parents travelling to the educational park and then back home again. Careful site selection for educational parks can limit the ride to and from school—and the ride itself can be used for educational purposes.

The children's safety can be better cared for in the educational park with its own trained police force and a design of ramps and underground passageways which will avoid all traffic approaches

to the park. Within the park, traffic will be sharply curtailed and limited to fixed areas, as on any university campus.

**If the school is outside the neighborhood, won't it be hard to get parent participation?**

The educational park will be the community's cultural and recreational center. Parents will come for their own adult education or retraining classes, for professional entertainment in the great theater, and for parent meetings. The pride that the community can have in a great local institution will have a strong drawing power.

**Isn't it a gruesome idea to have 10,000 to 12,000 children all in the same park? Will the educational park be an educational supermarket?**

We already have schools with enrollments in the thousands in our big cities. The basic unit in the park is small, protecting the individuality of the child and his teacher better than the present system can. The question is not the number of children but how the park is organized.

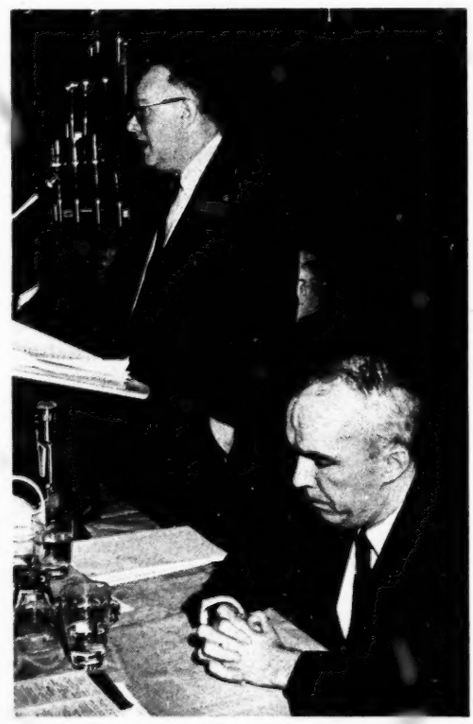
A city can now build classroom buildings for not more than 500 elementary school children, for 800 middle grade pupils, and for 1500 senior high school pupils. The outside design of these educational park buildings should be varied and interesting so the child can identify closely with his unique building. At the same time, he has before him the physical goal of "graduating" into the next higher educational level.

Children identify with their classmates. Their feelings of security in the larger world of school center around the other pupils in their class rather than in the physical classroom. The class will be small and will stay together in its home room with its home teacher, separating only for the special programs the park provides and coming together again, refreshed and inspired, to compare notes and "show and tell."

The country's demand for quality, economy, and equality in education can no longer be met in the old way. The educational park sets the stage for the great advances in education that lie just ahead. ■

# 2. The Speeches

Each visiting speaker at the Hartford Conference seemed to elaborate upon these unifying ideas: Big problems require big solutions. But the hour is late in the social crisis of the cities. We must have a commitment to equal educational opportunity now. And we must take interim actions now while working toward final solutions. Summaries of the speeches made in Hartford follow.



► Dr. Frank Riessman of New York University at microphone with Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew of Harvard in foreground.

★ **BAND-AID REMEDIES WON'T WORK.** *Speaker: Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew, Associate Professor of Social Psychology, Harvard University, and consultant to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.*

NO GREAT CITY has been able to solve the problems of racial imbalance in the schools by adopting isolated remedies that may work in smaller cities. Small ghetto remedies are band-aid remedies. For all big cities, the ultimate solution must meet two criteria: (1) It must be metropolitan in character; and (2) it must involve large complexes. And there must be both compensatory education and racial integration. One without the other makes little sense. The Civil Rights Commission survey found, for example, that compensatory efforts in all-Negro classrooms are doomed to failure.

Project Concern, a good example of a metropolitan approach, is particularly significant in that it reaches the "forgotten" Negro American. Pupils were randomly selected for busing to the suburbs. The educational park is a dramatic example of the large-complex approach.

Negro children suffer a basic indignity when they are bused to white schools; for whites, going to school with Negroes is a status threat. The educational park must be everybody's school. It should be built on neutral turf and provide a high-quality, *status* education for all.

Educational parks *are* expensive to build. But the federal government is on the verge of major expenditures for school construction. It will come at the end of Vietnam if not sooner. But if this aid comes through in pork barrel, or rivers and harbors fashion, it will be disastrous for race relations and education in America. ■

★ **A MOON SHOT FOR EDUCATION.** *Speaker: Dr. Frank Riessman, Professor of Educational Sociology, New York University.*

WHAT WE NEED IS a moon shot in education. Just bringing Negro children up to grade level is pretty poor. White kids, after all, aren't getting a spectacularly good education. The aim should be to overthrow grade level standards so dramatically that educational differences between Negroes and whites will be smothered.

A curriculum for doing this would be based on a contact curriculum, connecting interests and styles of the youngsters to the subject matter at hand.

It would build on strengths rather than harp on deficits. (Compensatory education is a deficits concept.)

It would also help youngsters learn how to learn.

It would use individual programed instruction to much greater advantage.

Our cities must make this giant stride forward in a racially integrated setting. No one will mind busing if something good is at the end of the bus ride. But to achieve excellence, we'll have to combine conscience with basic self-interest. To influence great numbers of people, we must deal with self-interest and produce a new level of educational quality for all Negroes and whites. ■

★ **TOTAL SOLUTION NEEDED.** *Speaker: Dr. John A. Sessions, Educational Division, AFL-CIO, and member, Washington, D.C., Board of Education.*

WE MUST GUARD AGAINST THE DANGERS of playing the numbers game when we consider race and education. Is a school that's 60% white and 40% Negro "balanced"? If so, is one that's 60% Negro and 40% white "unbalanced"? Does it follow that children should be bused out of Africa? A perverted use of Coleman Report statistics (see Appendix 3) can lead us to a new attitude of racial superiority.

We can't do much by tinkering with the system as it is. We need a total approach to educational problems. We must spend a lot of money to create a new environment for children—a learning environment complete with computers and talking typewriters. Paradoxically, we must build much *larger* schools in order to individualize instruction.

Hopefully, a total solution will lure whites back to the city. But the success of the city schools should not be measured by how many white children they attract. ■

★ **NO TIME TO CHANGE MAN'S HEART.** *Speaker: Arthur Startz, Executive Vice President, Better Business Bureau of Metropolitan New York.*

SEGREGATED EDUCATION, whether de facto or de jure, must be judged by its effect on children. The effect is invariably harmful—for whites and Negroes alike.

It's often said that until we "change man's heart" we can't achieve integration. A change of heart is important. But we can't wait for that to happen. We can delay no longer. There's no time for

"further studies and research," for more pilot projects for the few. A comprehensive approach to school integration, a planned program, a reasonable timetable—all are needed now. And the basic decision must be made now by people in responsible positions in local communities.

The school board should first make an unequivocal policy decision for integration. Then, it should begin implementing it. It should identify and work with special interests that will support the program. It should avoid large mass meetings where views are polarized and emotions stirred, for clamor and turmoil can rip a community apart. Small, well-planned meetings are more constructive. It should develop pride in what is happening. As much as anything else, it should be concerned with the racial attitudes of teachers, custodians, bus drivers—anyone, in fact, who works with children.

A plan to achieve racial balance in the schools will take a total commitment if it is to succeed. ■

★ **WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?** *Speaker: Dr. Donald P. Mitchell, Director, Washington Internships in Education*

RESPONSIBILITY HAS BEEN LIKENED to a long string where we see the middle but not the ends. Regarding racial imbalance, we can label the ends "everyone's" and "no one's" and thereby stop pointing the finger. We constantly hear that the problem is not really the school's or that the people won't stand for busing or for a break with neighborhood school policy. You name it.

But we must face the fact squarely that to isolate blacks in a white-dominated society is to act against the blacks. As the Coleman and Civil Rights Commission reports make clear (see Appendix 3), isolation deprives Negroes of a positive gain which can come only by association with whites *regardless of economic class.* The minority gains educationally when placed with the majority in school classes. We get more bang for the buck educationally, more improvement by the one significant step of integration than by improvement in the quality of teachers or in compensatory programs tried thus far. In program budgeting parlance, input is about an equal mix of whites and blacks, and output is greater educational progress by the black and no reduction in progress by whites. Taxpayer's associations please note.

Hence, no action is an act against the minority everyday and in every important way. We act against the minority simply by not taking steps. At least one part of our string is becoming visible. The responsibility for the educational improvement of all children regardless of color rests with educational agencies. ■

★ **WASHINGTON AS JUNIOR PARTNER.** *Speaker: David S. Seeley, Assistant Commissioner, Equal Educational Opportunity Program, U.S. Office of Education.*

✔ Contrary to widespread misunderstanding, the Office of Education school desegregation guidelines mention neither racial balance nor imbalance. Desegregation does not mean the correction of racial imbalance. The guidelines deal only with plans designed to eliminate dual school systems operated in violation of the 1954 Supreme Court Ruling.

The intent of Congress, as expressed by Title VI (the "compliance clause") of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, was that the Office of Education should not require the correction of racial imbalance. Forced busing, for example, is specifically prohibited. Title VI is not a license for OE to impose its views. The Office gets its directions from Congress; Congress is *your* Congress. The dream of equal educational opportunity is your dream. It's up to you to finish it the way you like.

✔ The task of achieving racial balance in the schools is mainly a local and state one. Washington is a junior partner, particularly on the Northern issue. While we do investigate complaints of such matters as gerrymandered school attendance lines, unequal programs, and discriminatory hiring practices, we try to work with and get agreements from local school officials. Washington exercises its partnership through legislation. Title I and Title III of ESEA, Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, and the provisions of the Vocational Education Act, antipoverty, and other legislation can all be put to work to achieve equal educational opportunity.

✔ The schools have a strong responsibility to deal with segregation as a social issue. In the past, the schools have been used to teach segregation as a way of life. It may not have been our intent, but we have done it. If we are going to find our way out of it, the schools must teach a new pattern of race relations. This is one of the most critical areas in education today. We can not really get on with the job of teaching until we lick this problem. It is gratifying that the profession is beginning to meet its responsibilities—not just responding to pressures. ■

# 3. The Discussion Groups

In four discussion groups men and women of intelligence and good will delved deeply into the issue of racial imbalance in the schools and faced difficult facts head-on. There was no sloganeering, no empty oratory—just talk. But it was honest, searching talk as indicated by the quotes that follow from recorders' notebooks.

► Discussion leaders Alexander A. Mackimmie, Professor of Education, Trinity College; Dr. William H. Roe, Dean of University of Connecticut School of Education; Dr. Abraham Fischler, Dean, Nova University; and Dr. Samuel M. Brownell, of the Schools of Education at Yale and University of Connecticut.

## ON INEQUALITY AND POVERTY. . . .

• *"The ghetto I knew as a child had a way out, certainly for Europeans. It's closed today by the color line. The European poor and the Negro poor are in different situations. The first can say, 'Maybe my old man didn't make it. But my Uncle Charlie did.' Models are available."*

• **"The Negro has been put on a large, sprawling urban reservation."**

• *"It's unrealistic to ask parents to put up with the problem while waiting for new facilities."*

## ON THE MIDDLE CLASS. . . .

• *"More important than the quality of education is what people believe quality is. To many people, quality means the middle class system. Do we really want quality education—or do we want to help youngsters learn how to cope with middle class society and its values?"*

• **"I feel I should start my remarks, 'Fellow connivers. . . .' Certainly to survive in this society, the nonwhite must learn to cope with the system. But if this is the end in itself, we're perpetuating the jungle of manipulation to achieve success."**

• *"Any program for integration in the city is self-defeating if the middle class keeps moving out. But they can't run from the problem forever."*

• **"Many people seems more worried about the 'dangers of busing' than they do about the pervert in the street."**

• *"Let's get off the tack of attacking the middle class. They're terrible bores. But they are there. Let's hunt for solutions."*

## ON HUMAN RELATIONS. . . .

• *We've brought teachers together for interracial workshops, and there's usually a lot of bowing and scraping. This indicates we're not used to working together."*

• **"Busing can be frightening to Negro parents, too. They've seen the TV news shows where Negro children have suffered violence. They fear it could happen in the terra incognita of Suburbia."**

• *"There are forces in the ghetto working against integration. They are thinking more in terms of controlling their own institutions.*

*They're putting the civil rights groups in a position where they won't be able to help you with your integration plans."*

• **"The Negro poor won't reject any genuine offer of cooperation. But they're not going to wait. They are tired of the lack of action."**

• *"Left to the kids integration would work perfectly."*

• **"We just haven't convinced enough people that segregation is harmful to psyche and soul."**

## ON THE DYNAMICS OF GROUP ACTION. . . .

• *"The work [toward better human relations] must start in early childhood. Yet that's the very age when parents want their children in the neighborhood."*

• **"We've got to work with both the people who can make integration possible and with those who make it impossible."**

• *"Let's stop romanticizing about moral values. Face the fact: the world is shrinking; we're part of an international and interracial world."*

• **"We don't move masses of people by the rules. They'll move when they see a workable program."**

• *"The big job is to get five sympathetic votes on a five-man board of education."*

• **"Attitudes change. People who at first were afraid of our busing project are now afraid it won't work. In other words, they support it."**

## ON THE JOB AHEAD. . . .

• *"What scares me is that I don't know where we go from here. The projects we talk about take time."*

• **"We can't conduct business as usual in changing neighborhoods."**

• *"Educators tend to be cynical about politics. Yet Congress is the crucial body. It's up to us to persuade Congress our cities need the money."*

• **"We're headed for an integrated society. The schools can't accomplish it by themselves. But we shouldn't be afraid to make mistakes."**

• *"The day of the weak superintendent is over."*

• **"Society has created this situation over the past 100 years. As educators we shouldn't apologize. We are dissatisfied. Improvement comes with dissatisfaction."** ■

# Appendix 1: The Press on the Hartford Conference

## ADVANCE, March, 1967

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TOPICS LIKE SEGREGATION, busing, neighborhood schools, and bigotry are emotion-laden. Yet this conference of professionals at work explored these topics deeply, analytically, and calmly without emotionalism or anger. It was, we imagine, like a meeting of cool-headed professional generals who have to plan battle strategy under the gun. . . . Something must be done to cope with the social dynamite question of urban racial imbalance; local educators must take the lead in doing it.

"The albatross has been put around our necks," said Dr. Alexander Plante of the Connecticut State Education Department in his summary of the meeting. "Educators have been cast in an unfamiliar role. We've got to make public policy, not just follow it."

Said Dr. Robert L. Green, a Negro psychologist from Michigan State University: "If the white power structure doesn't move on this issue, then Negro parents and leaders must organize to take the power necessary to operate those schools that have been set aside for Negro youngsters. Negro parents can no longer wait until white America suddenly decides to integrate its schools."

Arthur Reese of the American Federation of Teachers echoed Dr. Green. "There are forces operating in the ghetto against you," he told a discussion group. "They're beginning to show less interest in desegregation and more interest in getting control of 'their own' schools."

Despite such warnings, the Negro leaders at the conference made it clear that they believed the best solution to the problems of equal educational opportunity still could be found in the imaginative exercise of black and white power, and not in black power alone.

"The school boards should set up citizens advisory committees for the Negro neighborhoods," said Arthur L. Johnson, Hartford's director of human relations. "Give us policy direction. But let us appoint our own people, our own leaders."

There was much talk like this—no sloganeering, no rhetoric about the Bill of Rights, just hard-nose talk about how to do it; how to move and influence masses of people; how to use power, politics, and persuasion so that the black child of the slums can get his chance to learn. . . .

Society has thrust the gauntlet to the educators. But the gauntlet, it turns out, is really a red hot potato. The educators—at least

those at the Hartford Conference—are grasping it anyway.

"The day of the superintendent and board not being involved in the world of practical politics is over," said William H. Curtis, AASA president and top school administrator in Manchester, Conn. "And unless a superintendent is willing to put his beliefs on the line, he's going to be in for added trouble." ■

## WASHINGTON MONITOR, March 13, 1967

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THE CONFERENCE . . . came up with no nationally applicable solutions to the problems of de facto segregation—if, indeed, any such solutions exist. The discussions, however, were provocative, and a list of "major points of focus" drawn up by the group provides a workable foundation for further efforts. . . .

Conclusions of the group were listed at a closing session by Alexander Plante, director of educational program development for the Connecticut State Department of Education, as follows:

- That the schools must lead the nation in its dedication to social justice
- That there is no longer any excuse for lack of action by the schools on the platform for racial equality laid down by the civil rights movement
- That the Negro child must be educated to have a choice of social mobility
- That the early years of a child's education are the most critical ones
- That busing must be to something worthwhile
- That integration, not desegregation, must be the goal
- That various methods must be tried, by the cities alone, by urban-suburban cooperation, by regional plans
- That the entire Negro community, not just the middle-class Negroes, must be involved
- And that "with progress for minority groups, all groups will profit." ■

## THE HARTFORD COURANT, March 13, 1967

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THE CONFERENCE ON RACIAL IMBALANCE in the City held last week in Hartford was an event of national significance.

Some 100 educators—chosen because they are making a mark on inner-city problems—brain-stormed for two days on the goals and techniques of integrating schools. Their ideas ranged from $100-million education parks with batteries of talking typewriters to the arguments that might persuade a white middle-class mother to agree that her child should go to school with Negroes.

Most of the conference proposals are controversial. Some may be impractical. But many are probably relevant to the problems of Greater Hartford. . . .

The conference was too important to forget now that it is over. Its results should be studied, talked over and evaluated for many months to come. The most useful ideas should be incorporated in an overall plan to solve some of this area's most pressing educational problems. ■

## THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL, March 8, 1967

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AT A CONFERENCE on "Education and Racial Imbalance in the City" held last week in Hartford, more than 100 school administrators and teachers from across the nation spoke without equivocation about their commitment to equality of educational opportunity. . . . [They tried] to share individual findings and experiences, to define the goals and probe the gray areas that surround them, to lay bare through open discussion the courses of action that have proved effective and about which there is little contention as well as those aspects of the problem that defy codification.

On one point, there seemed to be wide agreement. If educational equality is to be achieved before social disintegration occurs, it must be done with equal attention to ending racial segregation in the public schools as well as to creating special programs that will compensate disadvantaged children for the deprivations of poverty and discrimination. It is not a question of desegregated schools *or* compensatory programs for the disadvantaged. There must be both. One without the other is no solution, speaker after speaker maintained.

Furthermore, the conferees seemed to agree that further delay cannot be justified on any grounds—costs, divided responsibility,

housing patterns, highly vocal opposition, or any of the other excuses put forward to shift the day of reckoning further into the future. . . .

There was strong emphasis on the inequality of education in the all-white suburban schools whose students are deprived of the benefits of an integrated classroom and are actually taught by example to discriminate against nonwhites. The city of Hartford is embarked on an experimental program of busing disadvantaged children, mostly Negro, to five suburban communities that have agreed to cooperate. . . . [The] preliminary assessment is that it has been surprisingly successful.

This experiment and other programs were explored at the conference. Out of all the talk came the powerful impression that school administrators in the major cities and many smaller communities are rapidly awakening to the exceedingly difficult and complex task that must be performed. There appears to be a new recognition that no community is untouched and that, as Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew, professor of social psychology at Harvard University, said, "Solutions have to be metropolitan and involve large complexes, otherwise there is no hope for racial balance and quality education."

There is, of course, no common solution. Recognition of the problem has created a new social frontier for Americans that must be crossed by each community, using many ideas and diverse methods to win the new land. Unfortunately, time is no ally. As each day passes without progress, more and more of America's youth are subjected to conditions that cannot be tolerated in a democratic society. A start must be made, action must be taken in education that is in concert with other efforts to correct the historical injustices of race discrimination.

There is no longer any possibility of delay. ■

# Appendix 2:

# Experimental Aspects of Project Concern

## Theoretical Rationale

PROJECT CONCERN, although directly related to the problem of de facto segregation, is essentially an experiment in educational intervention designed to counteract the limited influence of urban education on the disadvantaged. Research has described the "cumulative deficit" which the child from the low socio-economic environment tends to exhibit in his school performance—a phenomenon which is dramatically accentuated among the nonwhite poor—and has underlined the profound task involved in reversing the trend. A review of the literature quickly communicates the impression that the problem goes beyond special teaching techniques, enriched materials, and better programing.

Project Concern will be evaluated by measured changes in pupil behavior. Nonetheless, it is important to outline, at least in skeletal fashion, the theoretical base from which these changes are predicted. Basically, the research stems from a conviction that changes in stimuli, environment, and other input data can result in changes in response or output behavior. However, it is also felt that cognitive patterns for coping with formal learning situations and the affective responses which accompany these patterns have been well crystallized at the time of school entrance. This results in the use of traditional response patterns which, for the disadvantaged, are frequently ineffective for school goals. To counteract this established tendency it seems best to present the subject with an intense and pervasive experience in a radically different environment so that new responses can be provoked. This is the first stage of Project Concern—to create some dissonance within the pupil in terms of his usual perception of himself in relation to school and to take advantage of this period of flux by reinforcing positive behaviors and attitudes.

The second aspect of the intervention model is tied to the influence of peers as a basis for the development of role fulfilling behaviors. A limited number of inner city youth (about 10% of the classroom population) placed in a suburban classroom will be constantly in contact with models of behavior more in keeping with school values. By limiting the impact of models which reinforce the current ineffective behavior and emphasizing the impact of different, but reasonably consistent models, it is hoped

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► **Note:** The paper above is a slightly abridged portion of the position paper prepared by Dr. Thomas W. Mahan Jr., Director of Project Concern, for the Hartford Conference. See also pages 8 to 13 of this report.

that some "shaping" of the pupils' learning styles will take place in the direction of increased academic performance.

As a catalyst to prevent too much dissonance which might create a withdrawal and/or rejection reaction, significant adult figures who share much of the child's heritage but also exhibit the desired characteristics in terms of attitudes toward school and learning are provided in the supportive team. The effectiveness of this additional factor in the change process is a focus of the research design, and, hopefully, evidence will be available at the termination of the project to determine the differential impact of the learning environment as separated from the impact of adult identification figures.

In essence, Project Concern focuses around the change in perception, already to a large extent stereotyped, which can be accomplished by a confrontation with experiences highly charged with novelty but also in a context of interpersonal support. It is predicted that changes will take place and that they will take place in the direction of the models which the suburban youth present to the bused pupils.

## Research Design

Project Concern is designed to determine the relative effectiveness of a radically different educational environment as a preventive and corrective intervention in the education of youth from the inner city. The theoretical rationale for the position has been discussed above, but the pragmatic aspects must be mentioned briefly here. The "vacant seat" basis for pupil assignment has resulted in considerable variability in the placement, with some classes having only one experimental S while others have four. This in turn has created a situation which results in the experimental Ss being spread across 33 schools while control Ss are drawn from five schools. Hopefully, this diversity will have a self-cancelling effect which will underline the impact of the experimental variable—the treatment procedure. In this same regard, it is also important to stress that the experimental Ss not receiving external supportive services are all placed in one school system (five schools) and that generalizations from their performance must be made with that fact clearly in mind.

Nonetheless, the design seems adequate to examine the relative impact of four methodologies on the learning, attitudes, and motivations of inner city youth. These methodologies, in order of their predicted effectiveness, are as follows:

1) Placement in a suburban system with supportive team assistance
2) Placement in a suburban system without supportive team assistance

3) Placement in an inner city school with supportive team assistance
4) Placement in an inner city school without supportive team assistance.

Ss assigned to treatment procedures (1) and (2) above are considered to be experimental Ss since they are subject to the impact of the major variable under study: placement in a radically different educational environment. Ss assigned to treatment procedures (3) and (4) above are classified as controls. All Ss were drawn from the same population in a random fashion. Schematically, the design is as follows:

| | Experimental Groups | | | | Control Groups | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grade | With Support | | Without Support | | With Support | | Without Support | |
| | N | Schools | N | Schools | N | Schools | N | Schools |
| Kdg. | 32 | 8 | 14 | 3 | — | — | 50 | 1 |
| 1 | 38 | 9 | 5 | 2 | 18 | 1 | 40 | 2 |
| 2 | 47 | 9 | 2 | 2 | 15 | 1 | 40 | 2 |
| 3 | 30 | 7 | 7 | 3 | 15 | 1 | 40 | 2 |
| 4 | 25 | 6 | 8 | 4 | 15 | 1 | 40 | 2 |
| 5 | 41 | 9 | 6 | 2 | — | — | 40 | 1 |

The criterion variables which will serve as the basis for evaluating the effect of the treatment variables (suburban school placement and supportive team assistance) can be grouped into four general headings:

a) Mental Ability
   1. Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children
   2. Primary mental abilities
b) Academic Achievement
   1. Reading
   2. Listening
   3. Arithmetic
c) Personal-Social Development
   1. Sociometric status
   2. Test anxiety
   3. Attitudes
   4. Teacher ratings
   5. School attendance
   6. Vocational aspiration
d) Creativity
   1. Picture completion
   2. Circles

These data will be collected at four points: September, 1966, as a base; May, 1967, to evaluate effects after one year; September, 1967, to assess loss during the summer; May, 1968, to evaluate

effects after two years. The basic statistical tests to be used will be analyses of variance and covariance. All data will be analyzed for the interaction of the following variables with the primary variables: age, sex, grade placement, school system, and, where the N permits, school.

In addition, case study materials reported on a weekly basis by teachers will be utilized in an attempt to discover patterns of growth and development. Along with this approach there will be data collected which will indicate parental involvement and attitude as well as neighborhood reaction to a child's placement in the suburbs. It is anticipated that there will be significantly greater growth for the experimental Ss as a group. It is also hoped that evidence as to most productive and effective intervention for pupils with differing characteristics may be revealed by careful manipulation of the results.

The techniques described above will be employed on the total samples. However, it is expected that smaller samples drawn from these samples will be used to study other areas such as speech improvement, frustration tolerance, and personality variables. The major outcomes of the Project will be evaluated from this design framework by means of the following specific hypothesis stated here as predictions. For operational purposes, a "statistically significant difference" shall be defined as a deviation of such magnitude that its likelihood of occurring by chance does not exceed one in 20.

1) Experimental Ss will have significantly greater gain scores than control Ss in
   a) all measures of mental ability
   b) all measures of academic achievement
   c) all measures of cognitive flexibility (creativity)
2) Experimental Ss will show significantly greater decrease than control Ss in measures of
   a) general anxiety
   b) test anxiety
3) Experimental Ss will not differ significantly from control Ss in sociometric measures of
   a) acceptance by classroom peers
   b) acceptance by neighborhood peers
4) Analysis of teacher report data on experimental Ss will show a pattern of sequential responses which follows the following trend for Ss who show significant gains in academic performance: uncritical acceptance by the teacher; more realistic appraisal by the teacher, but with a tendency to emphasize assets; a tendency to recall and report successes and achievements; attainment of a plateau in terms of reporting pupil behavior as being relatively unexceptional and consistent. ■

# Appendix 3: Selected Readings About Equal Educational Opportunity

## BASIC REFERENCES

- *Equality of Educational Opportunity* by James S. Coleman and others. Informally known as the "Coleman Report," this 737-page volume provides a basic fund of nationwide data on student achievement and attitudes and on the extent of public school and college inequalities of opportunity by reason of race, religion, or national origin. U.S. Office of Education, 1966. ($4.50 from U.S. Govt. Printing Office.)
- *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Volume 1.* A 276-page book that analyzes "Coleman Report" statistics and other facts and recommends "a basis of action by government at all levels . . . [to] fulfill for all American children—Negro and white alike—the promise of equality of educational opportunity." *Volume 2.* The statistical appendices. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967. ($1.00 each from U.S. Govt. Printing Office.)

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# Appendix 4:

## Participants at the Hartford Conference

John J. Allison Jr., Director, METRO (Metropolitan Effort Toward Regional Opportunity), Wethersfield, Conn.
Medill Bair, Superintendent of Schools, Hartford.
Bruce W. Barlow Jr., State Senator, Hartford.
Richard T. Beck, Superintendent of Schools, Trenton, N.J.
Harry A. Becker, Superintendent of Schools, Norwalk, Conn.
Collin B. Bennett, City Council, Hartford, Conn.
Mrs. Bruce B. Benson, Vice President, League of Women Voters of the U.S., and Vice Chairman, Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education.
Dr. Robert W. Blanchard, Superintendent of Schools, Montclair, N.J.
Robert O. Bowles, Executive Director, Greater New Haven Urban League.
Mrs. Aline M. Brennan, Assistant Professor of Psychology, Central Connecticut State College.
William J. Brown, Executive Director, Urban League of Greater Hartford.
Dr. Samuel M. Brownell, Professor of Education, University of Connecticut, and Yale University.
William G. Buss Jr., Assistant to the Dean, Harvard Graduate School of Education.
Lloyd Calvert, Director of Secondary Instruction, Hartford.
Dudley Cawley, Assistant Director, Health and Welfare and Education Department, National Urban League, New York City.
Dr. John F. Cawley, Associate Professor of Education, University of Connecticut.
Frank Christensen, Director of Pupil Services, Evanston Public Schools, Evanston, Ill.
The Very Rev. Msgr. James A. Connelly, Superintendent of Schools, Archdiocese of Hartford.
Larry Cuban, Director, Cardozo Project in Urban Teaching, Washington, D.C.
William H. Curtis, Superintendent of Schools, Manchester, Conn.
Dr. John E. Deady, Superintendent of Schools, Springfield, Mass.
Francis M. DeLucco, City Council, Hartford.
Theodore J. DiLorenzo, City Council, Hartford.
Dr. Norman Drachler, Acting Superintendent of Schools, Detroit.
William J. Dry, Board of Education, Simsbury, Conn.
Dr. Donald W. Dunnan, Superintendent of Schools, St. Paul, Minn.
Joseph P. Dyer, Director, Connecticut Office of Economic Opportunity.
Atty. Salvador A. Fasi, Board of Education, Hartford.
Dr. Abraham S. Fischler, Dean, Nova University, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.
Dr. George E. Fitch, Supervising Principal, Greenburgh School District #8, Hartsdale, N.Y.

Lewis Fox, Board of Education, Hartford.
Arthur L. Green, Director, Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights.
Dr. Robert L. Green, Associate Professor of Educational Psychology, Michigan State University.
Keith B. Hook, President, Board of Education, Hartford.
John O. Hopkins, Intergroup Relations Adviser, Renewal and Housing Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.
Mrs. Ellen Jackson, President, Operation Exodus, Boston.
Arthur L. Johnson, Director of Human Relations, City of Hartford.
Theron A. Johnson, Special Assistant to the Assistant Commissioner, Equal Educational Opportunities Program, U.S. Office of Education.
Mrs. Gertrude Johnson, Coordinator of Aides, Project Concern, Hartford.
Raymond J. Kelly, City Council, Hartford.
Robert M. Kelly, Deputy Superintendent of Schools, Hartford.
Atty. James J. Kennelly, State Representative and member of House Education Committee, Hartford.
The Honorable George B. Kinsella, Mayor, Hartford.
Donald S. Laing, Coordinator of Integration, Board of Education, Buffalo.
Dr. Virginia F. Lewis, Assistant Superintendent of Schools in Charge of Integration and Human Relations, Chicago.
Robert H. Lindauer, Superintendent of Schools, Simsbury, Conn.
Richard A. Linett, Superintendent of Schools, East Granby, Conn.
Alexander A. Mackimmie Jr., Chairman, Department of Education, Trinity College, Hartford.
Dr. Thomas W. Mahan Jr., Director, Project Concern, Hartford.
Dr. Joseph Manch, Superintendent of Schools, Buffalo.
Miss Lillian M. Mansfield, Board of Education, Hartford.
John P. McDonough, Superintendent of Schools, Farmington, Conn.
Dr. Robert C. Miles, Director of Elementary Instruction, Hartford.
Dr. Donald P. Mitchell, Director, Washington Internships in Education, Washington, D.C.
Howard A. Moreen, Chairman, Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce and Senior Vice President and Secretary, Aetna Life & Casualty, Hartford.
Edward Mosehauer, Chairman, Board of Education, West Hartford, Conn.
Mrs. Anita Murphy, Board of Education, Manchester, Conn.
Atty. George F. Murray, State Representative and member of House Education Committee, Hartford.
Dr. Michael F. Nealis, Acting Superintendent of Schools, Mount Vernon, N.Y.
Dr. John H. Noble, Assistant Professor, Brandeis University, and Co-Principal Investigator, West Hartford (Conn.) Summer School Evaluation Project.
Dr. William H. Ohrenberg, Superintendent of Schools, Boston.
Laurence G. Paquin, Superintendent of Schools, Baltimore.
Carmelo Parlato, Board of Education, Buffalo.

Dr. A. Harry Passow, Professor of Education and Chairman, Committee on Urban Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; Director, "A Study of the Washington, D.C. Schools."

Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew, Associate Professor of Social Psychology, Harvard University; Chief Social Science Consultant to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in its report on "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools."

Dr. Edward Pino, Superintendent of Schools, Cherry Creek School District, Colo.

Dr. Alexander Plante, Director of Program Development, Connecticut State Department of Education.

Dr. Joseph B. Porter, Superintendent of Schools, Stamford, Conn.

Mrs. Leon S. Price, Secretary, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Dallas.

Arthur Reese, Director, Civil Rights Department, American Federation of Teachers, Chicago.

Mrs. Belle K. Ribicoff, Vice President, Board of Education, Hartford.

Dr. Charles O. Richter, Superintendent of Schools, West Hartford, Conn.

Dr. Frank Riessman, Professor of Educational Sociology, New York University.

Dr. Wilson C. Riles, Director, Compensatory Education, California State Department of Education.

George J. Ritter, City Council, Hartford.

Dr. William H. Roe, Dean, School of Education, University of Connecticut.

Alfred R. Rogers, Secretary, Board of Education, Hartford.

Mrs. Russell Romeyn, Board of Education, South Windsor, Conn.

Dr. William J. Sanders, Connecticut State Commissioner of Education.

Dr. John A. Santini, Superintendent of Schools, New Haven.

David S. Seeley, Assistant Commissioner, Equal Educational Opportunities Program, U.S. Office of Education.

Dr. John A. Sessions, Staff Representative, AFL-CIO Department of Education.

William M. Shaughnessy Jr., Board of Education, Hartford.

Mrs. Edwin F. Shelley, General Member and Consultant, New York State Citizens Committee for the Public Schools.

Dr. Robert J. Shockley, Assistant Superintendent for Elementary Education, Board of Education of Prince George's County, Upper Marlboro, Md.

Lester Silverstone, Superintendent of Schools, Bridgeport.

Dr. Frank T. Simpson, Executive Assistant to the Connecticut State Commissioner of Welfare, Hartford, Conn.

Dr. Hyrum M. Smith, Innovative Centers Branch, Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education, U.S. Office of Education.

Dr. Paul E. Smith, Superintendent of Schools, Wilmington.

Wilber G. Smith, President, Hartford Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Dr. Bernard Sorokin, Chairman, West Hartford Committee for Equal Opportunity and West Hartford Schools Human Rights Committee.

Gerald Sroufe, Equal Educational Opportunities Program, U.S. Office of Education.

Ernest Stabler, Chairman, Master of Arts in Teaching Program, Wesleyan University.

Dr. Irving S. Starr, Dean, College of Education, University of Hartford.

Arthur Startz, Executive Vice President, Better Business Bureau of Metropolitan New York, and former Chairman, Board of Education, Greenburgh School District #8, Hartsdale, N.Y.

Mrs. Margaret V. Tedone, Board of Education, Hartford.

Dr. Edmund H. Thorne, Dean of Teacher Education, Central Connecticut State College.

Dr. Ellis D. Tooker, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Hartford.

Stephen J. Trachtenberg, Special Assistant to the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

Ronald E. Vaughn, architect, Yardley, Pa.

Dr. Michael F. Wallace, Superintendent of Schools, Waterbury, Conn.

Charles L. Warner, Superintendent of Schools, South Windsor, Conn.

William W. Westervelt, Board of Education, East Granby, Conn.

Dr. Thomas D. Wogaman, Administrative Assistant to the Superintendent of Schools, Berkeley Unified School District, Berkeley, Calif.

Dr. Max Wolff, Senior Research Sociologist, Center for Urban Education, New York City.

# Notes for a Consensus

A summary interpretation of the Hartford Conference on Equal Educational Opportunities in the Cities by Dr. Alexander J. Plante, Director, Office of Program Development, Connecticut State Department of Education.

1. It's now up to educators to set public policy in the field of social justice. This is a new and uncomfortable role, for policy in the past has been set by other agencies.

2. The Conference says "yes" to these two fundamental questions: (1) Do we wish to educate the Negro child to have a choice of social mobility? (2) Do we wish to educate the white child for life in a multi-racial society?

3. The early years of a child's life are the most crucial ones for social change. Yet these are the most segregated years.

4. There must be something worthwhile "at the end of the bus line" for children—a status and quality education in the city's educational park or suburban school; meaningful relationships between children and parents; *integration*, not just desegregation.

5. There's no one solution to the problems of racial imbalance in the schools. But integration *with* compensatory education increases the potential for progress.

6. We need a massive commitment on the part of many people. We need urban-suburban cooperation. We need regional solutions. We must involve the entire community including the "other Americans," white or black, from the inner city.

7. All children profit with progress for minority groups. When we prescribe for the educational ills of any child, we help all children.

8. The goal is not to impose middle class values on the Negro. It is to provide a quality education for all. ■